1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE DAIRY

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There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarsòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

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The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wurzuli* of the same village, Karziolv.

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity.

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palal* and *kaltmakh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wurzol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*.

[1] This word, in the forms *kas*, *kauk*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

his dairy the *palol* always turns to the left, so that he faces north-east as he goes towards his buffaloes. In a few dairies the door faces directly west, and, according to Breeks, this is the case at the conical dairy of Anto. 343

THE TODA BUFFALO

The Toda buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo, but the life on the hills seems to have produced a much finer animal than that of the plains. Although thoroughly under the control of the Todas, the buffaloes are semi-wild and often attack people of a different race from their owners, and Europeans have frequently been severely injured by the onslaught of these animals. 136 231 234 825

The Toda name for the male buffalo is *er*, and for the female *ir*, but either term may be used when the people speak of buffaloes collectively. Calves have different designations at different ages. A young calf is *kar*, one from one to two years of age is *pòl*, and a three-year-old calf is *nakh*.

Defective buffaloes, and especially those with only one horn, are called *kwadrir*, and those whose horns bend downwards are *kughir*. Barren buffaloes are called *maiir*.

There are considerable differences of colour among the buffaloes. Those much lighter than the rest are called *nerir* or *pushtir*, and there is a legend about the origin of these buffaloes, which, however, I failed to obtain. The only obvious way in which the animals differ from one another in marking is that some have a black stripe running down either side of the neck very much in the position which would be occupied by the chain suspending a bell.

There do not seem to be any physical differences between the buffaloes of different classes, and, as we shall see shortly, the nature of the breeding of the Toda buffaloes is such as would have entirely destroyed any distinctions of the kind if they had ever existed.

Every adult female buffalo has an individual name, which is usually given when her first calf is born. The number of buffalo names is limited, so that many buffaloes bear the same name. 234 552

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Kōji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkisi, and Òrsum.

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778 Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumpthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

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778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

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234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf.

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltuokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55).

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.'

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Önâwpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost.

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudœthkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teignn. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.)

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Cotacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit.

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarzam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri.

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the kūasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kūasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toɪrθasoɪʃ moiety, but not among the töüfiʃjoɪʃ), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tɪɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nīlgiris have similar pairs of kūasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kūasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kūasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kūasm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and kūasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. ūɯʂoɪr of the meɭgaɪsoʊʃ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paɪng (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maɪkaɪs of the kaɪsoʊʃ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tɪɪ-places of this sib. toɪrjaʃʃ of the kaɪsoʊʃ (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kurpoʊʃ dairy at the mund kaɪs. komdūɯɪ of the toɪroɪroʊʃ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoʊʃ dairy at the mund toɪroɪr. pepoɪb of the meɭgaɪsoʊʃ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuɯaɪs, a mund of the sib. körroɪrxūɯʈn of the körroɪroʊʃ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second kūasm of the people of the sib. oɪtjaɾs of the puɾgoɪroʊʃ (34, Atiurz) has the second kūasm of the people of the sib. munoɪnbiʃʂtj, son of koɪtsiθj (12, Kacheidl) has one of the kūasm of the buffaloes of his sib.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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55 193 [553] pəɪrθotj near the mund kʊrkoɪ. edzen (22, Idjen) <ɪdzɪfʊj, a valley near the mund pəʃtəɪr; this man was afterwards called kûərxɑɪ, from a rocky ground near the mund tæɪlgûmɪr, since there was another man called edzen. nɑtyɪj (25, Natuli) <kinxɑtyɪj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund pəʃtəɪr; kinxɑtyɪj = "small (kin)-stone (kɑɪ)-deep pool (tyɪj)," and nɑtyɪj = "beauty (nɑɪ)-deep pool (tyɪj))." I could not discover that nɑtyɪj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæɪθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæɪθj and kæm, a brother of tæɪθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmɑɪl, cf. kæmgûmʊṭɲ (§9) and kæmodɪ (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkɪɪθj, for which see §12.

55 552 614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or kûɑɪm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjɑɪr in §14. Others are

55 776 199 moɪrɔmɪɪ, a son of tööθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪrɑmn, i.e. Mariamma; noɪxoroɪdzn, a son of sirjɑɪr (table 20), <nóɪxɑɪr "Nagore" or noɪxɑɪrxʊrj "the temple at Nagore" with roɪdzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noɪxor or noɪxoroɪf "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ɑrdʒoɲ "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ɲ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ɑrdʒ. The other name is idʒoɪm (a son of tæɪpɑɪx, table 20). This is from idʒoɪdzn "king (roɪdzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in ömgûmʊṭɲ (20, Enkutan); öm, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes kûɑlöö, who belonged to the sib of the melgɑɪsoɪj, had another name mæɪltɑɪɪ, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meiltarɪ).

55 197 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. koɪntsɑɪɪ, a son of kæmodɪ (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kântarâja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kântarasu. (ɑrɪ is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa ɑrɑsu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poɔ:ɨ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the tõuθmɨ and the tõunoɔɨ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the mɨrɔ:ɨmɨt, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. kaːθum, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hõ: at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as nɔ:ɨ, after it as mɨ,

4: Yalman E-4, 5 (1954-1958); 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the preparation of the various milk products are also relegated to the special priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products; in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry, polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "public" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can